

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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## NOTIFICATION

TO THE  
READERS OF THE REGISTER.

It has been found, that, in some places, in the country, the Register does not find its way punctually and *regularly*; and, especially, at so *early a time as it might be received*. Until the late regulation, the Country-Booksellers were to charge 6½d. for the Register, in order to cover the expense of *package*, and of *carriage* by coach. But, it having been found, that, notwithstanding this, there was great *delay* in the dispatching of the Register from London by some of the persons who purchased it to send to the country; a great many complaints of this sort having been received at the

Office, the publisher resolved to *pay the carriage out of his own pocket*, and to send directly from the Office to all those Country-Booksellers that might choose to send him their orders; and, by these means, to secure, as far as he was able, an early arrival in the country, while, at the same time, the readers in the country would have to pay sixpence, instead of sixpence halfpenny, for each Register.—This regulation has, in most cases, produced the best possible effects; namely, an early and regular arrival, and a great *increase of sale*. But, in one particular instance, the complaints of *late and irregular* arrival continue; for "*remedy whereof*," as Lawyer Scarlett had it in his famous, though unfortunate, Bill, the publisher has to state as follows: That the Register

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is always ready to be *dispatched* from London on the Friday ; that, of course, it may be at *Bath*, for instance, on the Saturday morning ; that it is now actually ready for delivery at Bristol, Norwich, Manchester, and many other places equally distant on the Saturday. Therefore, if there be any place, where the readers are not regularly supplied, *the cause must lie with the Country-Bookseller*. This being the case, the publisher points out, what he deems a complete remedy. *Booksellers and Stationers* are, in some places, so far *dependent* on the Tithe and Taxeaters as to make them afraid to sell the Register. When we consider, that, including the sums paid to, or allowed to be kept back by, the Taxgatherers, the Tithes and Taxes now amount to about *seventy millions* a-year ; or, enough to maintain *eleven millions and a half of people*, at five to a family, and allowing to each family *thirty pounds a-year* ! When this is the case ; and when it is so notorious, that *all, yea all,*

those who share this immense sum amongst them, *must* detest the Register and endeavour to prevent it from being read, and this, too, for the plainest reason in the world, namely, because if it were generally read, this immense sum could not be thus raised and thus used ; when this is the case, the wonder is, that any *Bookseller* at all can be found to sell the Register, seeing that those who live on the Tithes and Taxes are, and must be, almost the only persons that have *any money to buy large books with*. In many places, some time ago, the booksellers were *threatened*, and compelled, to save themselves from loss of business and from ruin to desist. Therefore, resort must be had to some other person. A *shoemaker*, made of good stuff, is generally to be found. At any rate, some shopkeeper, who loves truth and shames the Devil and does not depend on the taxeating tribe, can be found in every town, however small ; and, there seldom wants *now*, in every town, some man of property to wish to give

the Register circulation. If he have read it himself, he well knows, that a *general reading of it* is all that is wanted to insure the accomplishment of its great objects, a deliverance of England from ruin to men of property, and from pauperism and misery to the labouring classes. To read all men but taxeaters and ideots are now willing enough; but, to *get the thing* is not always easy. If any Gentleman wishes to see the Register sold in any town, and will first engage some one to sell it, and then write to the publisher, recommending such person, some *Registers*, some *Farmer's Friend*, some *Farmer's Wife's Friend*, and so on, shall be sent. The person recommended will then *write* to the Office himself, and say what he has sold, and *what he shall want in future*. There will be *no responsibility* on the part of the Gentleman who gives the recommendation. The loss cannot be much. It will soon be seen, whether the vendor be punctual in his payments. For a

little while we will receive back that which is not sold; and, afterwards, the seller will order no more than what he may regularly want. A large *placard* will be sent down with the *first parcel* to be put up on the house of the seller, notifying *that he sells Mr. Cobbett's publications*. In market-towns the seller may send a boy into the Market, on the market-days; and also to *Fairs*; and he may sell the little pamphlets there. There is a boy in London, who gets from the Office hundreds at a time of the *Farmer's Friend* and of the *Farmer's Wife's Friend*, which he carries to *Mark-lane*, and to as many of the markets and fairs near London as he is able to go to.—Thus the publisher has, he thinks, pointed out the effectual and *easy* means of securing a regular supply of the Register without a stamp. If the reader be so situated as to make it impossible for him to get the unstamped Register, the *stamped* one, at 1s. goes by *post*, and free of postage.—The

*profit* to sellers is such, that, in any considerable town, a little shopkeeper, or a labourer, might easily make out of it 3s. or 4s. a-week clear.—Small coach parcels are dearer, as to carriage, than large ones; and, if *very small*, the carriage comes to as much as the pamphlets. At first a trifling loss of this sort will not be minded; but, for a constancy, we cannot pay the carriage upon a parcel, the amount of which is less than *eight shillings*.—Every Gentleman, who may be disposed to write to the Office on these matters will meet with immediate attention. Only a little, and a very little, trouble, taken by *one man*, may set a whole district right as to the causes of their sufferings. If *every man* thought rightly as to these subjects, there would soon be an end of the sufferings themselves. We only want to be *unanimous*, or nearly so. If all farmers and tradesmen were as well-informed and as zealous as the Reformers of the North, matters would soon be put to rights.

If we had a member of parliament to *speak* to the people, there would need no pamphlets. But, we have no such member; and, it is pretty clear, that, till the parliament be reformed, we never shall have one. To the press, therefore, we must look; and, those who think, that the Register, if generally read, would tend to produce that which we stand in need of, now know in what way they can, with very little trouble to themselves, assist in promoting its circulation.

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### NOTICE

#### TO COUNTRY-BOOKSELLERS.

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It happens, in some cases, that those Booksellers, in the country, who have weekly parcels of the Register sent to them, also wish to have parcels of *other pamphlets* sent *with the Register*; and, it may possibly have happened, that, in consequence of our late regulation, the Country-Booksellers have experienced some delay in



the receipt of those *other pamphlets*. Now, though this is really no affair of ours; though our regulations arose out of the fact, that ours *was not regularly sent to the country*; and though the proof of the injury that this did to the Register has now become so manifest in the great increase of sale which the regular sending has produced; still, in order to oblige the Country-Booksellers, the publisher of the Register makes them an offer as follows:—He will receive from the publishers of *other pamphlets*, any parcels, completely packed up and *sealed*, that may be brought to him, at, or before, *twelve o'clock* on any Friday; and he will enclose them in his parcels; the said publishers paying him a due proportion of the expense of carriage and of booking. He wants to get no *profit* or *advantage* of any sort from those *other pamphlets*. Those booksellers, therefore, who may wish to have those other pamphlets conveyed to them through this channel, will, of

course, give their directions to their London correspondents accordingly; but, they will please to consider, what numbers of parcels there are to be prepared at our Office on the Friday, and take particular notice, that, unless the parcels to be enclosed be received by, or before, *twelve o'clock* on that day, it must depend on accident, whether they be sent or not.—This is an *experiment* merely to oblige the Country-Booksellers. If we find the parcels of *other pamphlets* arrive *late*; or, if any other great inconvenience should, upon trial, be found to arise out of the thing, we shall be obliged to give it up, and to attend merely to the safe and regular sending of our own publications.—We ought to notice, that, it may *possibly* happen, once in a very long time, as it did last week, that the Register will not go off to every place on the Friday. The Rustic Harangue was closed, at Farnham, at about *four o'clock* on *Thursday*; the reporter of that Ha-

rangue had to bring his Notes *forty miles*, then to *write forty columns of the Register*, all which had to be printed, and the pamphlets folded and stitched, before any could be sent off. The whole was in print in about *fourteen hours* after the four o'clock at Farnham. But it was not done quite soon enough to send off *all* the Friday's parcels; yet, they had at Norwich, Bristol, Manchester, and Leeds, on the *Saturday*, what was spoken at Farnham on the *Thursday at four o'clock*.—We state this as an instance; but, it is evident, that such cases can rarely occur.

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TO MR. KNOWLES,

OF THURSLEY, IN THE COUNTY OF  
SURREY.

*On the approaching discussion relative to Peel's Bill, and on the prospects of Farmers, Landlords and Parsons, particularly in relation to the Claims of the Labourers.*

Kensington, June 3, 1822.

SIR,

I CAN say nothing, or very little, upon the above subjects, that can

be of much use to you, who understand all these matters as well as I do; which is, indeed, the case with all those who have been readers of the Register for the last eight or nine years. But, your name gives a *name* to this pamphlet; and, I find great use in these names: they distinguish clearly one Register from another, and, thereby, not only assist my own memory as well as that of the readers in general, but save writing and space when I have references to make. I offer no apology for making use of *your* name for this purpose. It is of some service to me and the public, and it can neither pick your pocket nor break your leg.

Before I enter on my subjects, let me make a call upon all those, who, like you, understand them so well, to think a little of their duty towards *others*, who are, as yet, comparatively uninformed with regard to them. It is in vain for us to hope for any *peaceable* settlement of things, unless the great body of the people be *well-informed* as to the great causes of our present distress and our gradually approaching decline and fall as a nation. Those who possess this information ought, therefore, to use all the means in their power for causing others to

possess it. No one will deny that I have done my duty in this way, with both tongue and pen; and that I have done it, too, not only without any particular interest of my own to urge me on; but manifestly in the teeth of my own particular interest. I state this, not in the way of taking merit to myself; but in the way of rebuke to those who have neglected to do any thing in the public cause, though they might have done it, with the greatest ease in the world, without the smallest risk of injury to themselves. There are not a few of such persons, who, though very well convinced, that a Reform of the Parliament was absolutely necessary to the safety of the country, have, nevertheless, drawn themselves into their shells, lying silent, snug and safe, while they saw, without attempting to lend us a helping hand, or to give us a cheering sound, the storm, the violence, the virulence, the thunder and lightning of corruption pelting down upon us, and laying us prostrate and leaving us for dead. I, who have survived this terrible storm, while I feel the most ardent attachment to those who showed themselves men during that storm, will by no means disguise, that towards those of a different description my feelings are

of a very different nature; and as to those who have showed hostility towards us, who have reviled us as persons aiming at plunder and devastation; who have branded us with the vilest of names, and have ascribed to us the basest of motives, but who now are suffering from the workings of that infamous corruption to which we would have put an end if we could; as to these men, these detestable instruments of cowardice and cruelty, I must confess, and I am forward to confess, I glory in proclaiming, that their sufferings give me pleasure far greater than it is in my power to express.

As to the main body, however, of those that are now suffering, particularly amongst the farming classes, their fault has been that of *inactivity*; that of a want of coming forward to our support. This fault I make due allowance for, too. The persons of this description, to whom I more particularly allude, have been misled, as to two points. First, they were made to believe that the paper-money, the loans, and the enormous expenditure; that standing armies in time of peace; that military academies, that barracks and arsenals and depôts and round towers and telegraph-houses and whisks and copper heels to

boots ; that these and a great many other things that might be mentioned were all necessary to the well-being and honour of the country. And in the second place, they were made to believe, that we who disliked these things ; that we who petitioned against these things ; that we who detested and abominated all the outlandish tricks and contrivances that had changed the very look of England, were sighing for anarchy and confusion, wanted to destroy all order and all law, and, as we were expressly charged in the Report of the two Committees in 1817, with a wish to have a general scramble, and to get the property of the rich into our possession. By representations like these the main part of the middle class of society, particularly that most efficient class the occupiers of the land, were deluded ; and though they were, doubtless, frequently shocked at the terrible punishments inflicted on us, their feelings were blunted by the reflection that those punishments were *necessary to their own safety*. They felt for us as they feel for young men and women who are executed for forgery : they felt sorrow at our fate ; sorrow for our distressed and ruined families ; but justified themselves in their own minds for not reviling

our persecutors ; because they deemed our punishment *necessary to their own safety*.

Now, how is the scene changed ! That *safety* which they then so much valued, is now found to be totally at an end for ever, unless it be restored to them by the adoption of those very measures, the seeking for which constituted our *crimes* ! This is a strange change indeed ; and it was only because I foresaw that this change would come, that I was induced to persevere for the far greater part of the period during which the country has witnessed that perseverance. I have been charged with *ambitious views* : ambitious views are in themselves not criminal : they are criminal only when intended to be accomplished by unjustifiable means. I have entertained no views which I did not think tended to the happiness and honour of my country. If I have wished to be in parliament, it has been with no other view than that of promoting that interest and that honour. By the unanimous feeling of *all* the factions ; the Pittites, the Whigs, and the faction of Burdett, not less malignant than either of the other two, and a surprising deal more hypocritical than either, *I am where I am*, to which let me add, and that, too, with as much



glee as heart ever felt, **THEY ARE WHERE THEY ARE**, and they are, too, and let the nation bear it in mind, where they would not have been, and where they could not have been, if I had been, only for the two last years, *speaking to the whole nation*, instead of writing to a comparatively very small part of it.

*There they are*, then! Look at them and see what a figure they make! To describe their situation is absolutely beyond the power of man; and yet they are only entering upon those scenes which are to lead to the catastrophe that is to render their disgrace and my triumph a great and interesting subject with your and my children's children.

Such is the result of the delusion spread abroad by more than three hundred periodical publications, besides about a hundred volumes of speeches, during the last twenty years. I am, therefore disposed to feel a good deal of indulgence towards the deluded part of the community. Provided, however, that the deluded persons have not also been *persecutors*; and provided, also that they now bestir themselves in the discharge of their duty. If they now act the part of men, their past coldness and indifference ought to

be forgotten; and forgiven. And, let all whom it may concern bear in mind, that, as to *myself*, I would not now rise up from this table to accept of a seat in parliament for any Borough, City or County in the kingdom, unless upon the footing of a complete and efficient reform. I wish to stand as I am, and see into what a state these three factions will bring the nation, without any the smallest interference of mine. I very much wished to be in the House of Commons from the year 1812 to last year. I know I could have prevented a great part of the sufferings which have befallen the nation. But, the hour of prevention is now passed. It is now too late for the propositions that I intended to make. Your remedy must change with the changes in the disease; and I have no taste for having my plans mutilated by emergencies that shall have arisen subsequent to their formation. I offered myself to Honiton sixteen years ago; to Hampshire ten years ago; for Westminster I always might have been chosen during the last fourteen years; I offered myself for Coventry at the very time of all times when my services were most wanted, and besides the efforts of the rich ruffians of that place, I

had to contend against the London canvassing of the at once most sly and most stupid and most idolized reptile that ever crawled the face of this earth, belonging to that faction which may well be called the *do-nothing* faction ; but which has contrived, by hook or by crook, to have every fool in this kingdom on its side.

There they have them, then, *Peter Moore* and *Edward Ellice*, to carry the vessel through the storm ! And here am I on the shore witnessing their blunders, seeing the sails torn to rags, seeing the helm twisted to and fro, without why or wherefore, in their unskilful and feeble hands, seeing their affrighted and stupid looks : and if I do hear the cries of the passengers my heart tells me at every cry that I hear, that the fault is not mine, but that of the passengers themselves.

I have been involuntarily led into these remarks with regard to myself : but, I feel at the same time that they demand no apology, seeing that my name is become identified with that set of principles, the acting upon which would have saved the nation. It is become a duty towards the country much more than towards myself to keep the public reminded of these things. Men must ask them-

selves this question : “ *What would now have been the state of men’s minds if Mr. Cobbett had not written at all ?* ” They must also ask themselves this other question : “ *What would have been the consequence had he for the last thirteen years been speaking to the whole nation that which he has written to a few persons ?* ” Those that have read it will ask, “ *Is it possible that this suffering could have been experienced if Paper against Gold had been spoken to the whole nation in 1811 ?* ” And then they will ask how it has come to pass that a *Douglas Kinnaird*, who has been in Parliament for years without the people knowing it ; that the insignificant son of an everlasting placeman ; that an any-thing ; that a *no-matter-what* should have been hunted about after by the big talking and little doing Patriot, in order to be crammed into a seat for Westminster by the means of an intriguing, grovelling set of wretches called a Rump Committee ; while at the same time, that big talking Patriot was stunning us with a noise equal to that of forge hammers, about Parliamentary Reform and Purity of Election. A “ *compromise* ; ” a compromise with this faction, the most malig-

nant of all, and really as corrupt in the motive as the worst! Let those who think of such a thing come but to London for one winter, and they will see how despicable the faction, and how inexpressibly foolish the idea of a compromise with it. Peel's Bill, however, has disconcerted even this hypocritical faction, who never wished for a Reform any more than the fish in your ponds wish for the drawing off of the water. Peel's Bill is rousing the Yeomanry and farmers into activity. It will compel the Landlords to seek a reform in order to save their last acre; and when that reform comes, come when it may, you will see, and mark my words, this faction, with all its big talk and all its bundles of professions, sink into insignificance as complete as the forlorn wretches that now pick their meals from the gutter and deprive the pigs of their morning repast. It is at present supported, and that too, in mere outside appearance, by a species of jugglery that would disgrace mountebanks and pickpockets; but let Peel's Bill only work on to its natural results, and this faction is blown away as the zephyr clears your bent-fields of the deleterious dust. The scythe of Reform will bring down the whole

crop of corruption, but the previous breezes will clear away, never to be more heard of, this noisy, hypocritical and despicable faction.

I now come to the proposed subjects of my letter; and first I have to offer you some remarks on the approaching discussion relative to Peel's Bill. From what I have already said, and, indeed, so many times over, you will easily imagine that I do not wish that Mr. Western's motion should succeed in any degree. I have before shown in my letter to Lord Lansdowne, the injustice that must be done if this Bill were repealed. I have stated also, in my last Register (the rustic harangue at Farnham) the strong motives for refusing to enact such repeal, amongst which I did not forget to include the shocking mortification of really enacting and proclaiming to the world a triumph so marked and complete to me, William Cobbett. Still there remains to be pointed out to you; or, at least, to the public at large, some of the reasons which will prevent those who have the power, from repealing this Bill.

Self-preservation is the first law of nature; and according to this maxim, the Landlords will

be ready to make any sacrifice, and will think very little of mere shame and disgrace, in order to save their estates. If a man break his leg, and a mortification be apprehended, he will take the assistance of a Surgeon that has even cuckolded him, rather than lose his life. The main body of the Landlords, and especially those who have the insolence to call themselves the "*higher orders*," hate me a considerable deal more than a thief hates a constable; and we know very well that a thief who is like to be drowned in a water-scuffle with a constable, will call upon the latter for his assistance, though, in all human probability, he obtains, thereby, only a swing in preference to a duck. The Landlords, therefore, if they could all see their danger at once, and the full extent of that danger, would have no scruple about the means of effecting their escape. But, in the first place, they do not all see their danger; much less do the main part of them see it to its full extent. You, who read the Register, are apt to think that every body else reads it, and especially all those whose very morsel of bread is involved on the issue to which its writings relate. The fact is that not

more, probably, than a fiftieth part of the Landlords ever saw the Register, strange as that may appear to you. They have no knowledge of these matters but that which they pick up here and there out of newspapers, and out of parliamentary speeches. The former, if they had been established for the express purpose, could not, generally speaking, have been better calculated to deceive them; to lead them along from error to error, and to put a confused mass of nonsense in their minds. Little better is that which they can have derived from speeches in parliament; so that, as to the main body of them, the Laplanders are as well acquainted with the causes of the present monstrous appearances as they are. And, as to the extent of the danger, as to total loss of estate, though the thing has been proved so clearly and so many times, the very idea is such a stranger to their minds, that they have only still to see the parchment in their possession to deprive them of even the capacity of entertaining the notion of loss of the estate, not at all perceiving that an estate without rent is in fact no estate at all. But, indeed, to what an extent must they be ignorant when they can seriously set themselves



to work to combat the evil, as they call it, of the poor rates, while the fundholders have actually a mortgage upon their lands to an amount far exceeding the rental; and when they are induced to believe that it is necessary *for their own good* to give these fundholders, under the name of Sinking Fund, five millions a-year over and above the utmost interest to which these latter can have a right to pretend, or any colour of justification to demand.

Besides this profound ignorance in the main body of the Landlords, you will please to observe that there is one description of them, who do not suffer like the rest. I mean the *Boroughmen* and all those connected with or at all related to the Boroughmen. All this description of Landlords are upon the whole profiting, perhaps; really *gaining* by the change which has taken place in the value of money. Suppose you, or, which will be more decorous, suppose me to be a Boroughman. Suppose my estates in land to have brought me hitherto twenty thousand pounds a-year, and suppose me and my family to have, besides, been and to be, receiving out of the system, thirty thousand pounds a-year. I now get no rents; but

we get amongst us the thirty other thousand pounds a-year, and that will buy us as great a quantity of good things as about eighty thousand pounds a-year would have bought us before. So that here am I a gainer; though I lose all my rents, I am a gainer by twenty or thirty thousand pounds a-year. I know that the poor devils of little landlords, and big landlords, too, who are not sharing with me in the receipts of the system must go to ruin. But you know what a Boroughman is I suppose, and knowing that, I need not tell you that he cares not who sinks so long as he swims. You know, also, that a boroughman has not only numerous hands to grasp with; but that he has also numerous voices to speak with; and that, though all the voices do not speak a great deal, they utter short words, and words very much to the purpose. Were the boroughmen to reflect a little, they would discover that their turn must come at last; but the far greater part of them never reflect till they feel, and never feel for others till they have felt a long time for themselves.

Now, on persons of this description the statements of Mr. Western will produce no effect. He will exhibit his pictures of distress in

vain to them. They know no distress. Their dinners are grander and their balls more splendid than ever. It is all the same to them whether they have a troop of little landlords, or a troop of stock-jobbers at their heels. To tell them that two-thirds of the farmers in the fine county of Essex are insolvent is no more than to tell them that two-thirds of the grasshoppers or the frogs are ready to perish from the drought of the season. They will be told by their instruments, that, to repeal the Bill of Peel, would be to give a terrible blow to the system; and they will take special care that, as long as they can help it, that system shall not receive a blow.

Besides this there are some of the Boroughmen, and some of the other big Landlords, who have enormous sums of money in what are called the Funds; and I have observed that people who have money in the funds always think more of that than they do of any other species of property. The interest is regularly paid; and they seem to enjoy it the more because they feel that it is paid to them out of their neighbours' pockets, and to the loss and injury of their neighbours. The funding system has in it every thing that is unnatural and base, and,

amongst other things, it has the capacity of inspiring this species of malignant satisfaction. The fundholders, who are such by choice, look upon themselves as united with the Government. They regard as their enemies every one that breathes even a whisper against the powers that be; and they would see half the nation slaughtered, rather, not than lose their dividends, for they would see the whole world, their own fathers and mothers included, slaughtered before they would lose them or any part of them; but they would see half the nation slaughtered, rather than they would see the Government put into a fright, or see any risk of their losing a thousandth part of a thousandth per cent. of interest. My opinion is, that a thorough-paced fundholder would not hesitate a moment at seeing the country conquered and its very name taken away, if he were told that he should thereby avoid the risk of losing only a farthing upon a hundred pounds of his interest. It is the basest crew that ever disgraced the earth; and, therefore, if a boroughman, or any other big landlord, be a big fundholder, too, what sort of mercy is he to be expected to have upon the little landlords or upon any

other part of the people? What does such a man as this care about two-thirds of the farmers of Essex being insolvent?

Add to this that many of the big fundholders have, within a few years, become boroughmen, and, of course, they have a great deal to say in the matter. There will be nothing but the poor part of the landlords to complain, and the arguments of poverty are seldom very cogent. The whole body of fundholders, placemen and pensioners, and particularly boroughmen, must be opposed to the repeal of Peel's Bill; and, therefore, all that the discussion will produce will be a large quantity of useless weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.

The prospect, then, of the Farmers, Landlords, and Parsons may be looked upon as moderately dismal, particularly in relation to the claims of the labourers, usually denominated, *poors' rates*. Indeed these claims ought not to be called *poors' rates*. It is so much money which is thus taken from the rent and tithe and from the farmers' capital to make up the deficiency of wages, necessary to enable the labourer to pay taxes. Malt being six or seven shillings a bushel, for instance, instead of being half-a-crown, the labourer

must pay four shillings more for the bushel of malt than he would otherwise have to pay. The farmer keeps the wages as low as possible, and employs as few hands as possible; but still the people must be fed. They must *live*. By some means or other there must be food for them; for, as we have seen in the case of the Irish, even if there be no poor laws, as is the case in Ireland, money must be raised by subscription; and at last the people must be fed; for if not fed, they will help themselves, it being full as well to be hanged and better to be transported, than to be starved to death; for when a man is hanged for robbery a coffin is found him at the public expense.

Nothing can be more clear than that the whole of the people of a country must live upon the produce of a country. It is best when they live upon their own private property and out of their own earnings; but if a very large part, if the community earn nothing, and possess no land or any other thing that can be taxed, and have to live on the produce of taxes, it is evident that the proprietors of land must contribute towards the maintenance of this large body that do nothing, seeing that the labourer has nothing to

spare; seeing that he has and can have no more out of his own earnings than is required for his own support. If the taxgatherers went at once to the Landlord and took that rent which the farmer had been accustomed to pay him, the operation would be simple and easily understood. In our complicated way of going on, the taxgatherer goes to the malt-house, the brewhouse, the chandlers-shop and so forth, and there he raises taxes; but these taxes have to be paid by the farmer himself for his own consumption, by the innumerable traders and dealers that he has to purchase from, and especially by his labourers. If all these taxes were done away with, and the taxgatherer went at once for the rent, the most stupid Landlord would understand it. Yet, is it not evident enough that if the money for all these taxes come originally from the pocket of the farmer; that is to say, out of the produce of the farm, there can be very little left to be paid in the shape of rent?

It is not, therefore, an outcry against the poor and against poor-rates that we ought to hear from the Landlords; but a cry against these same taxes. But, say they, the poor will have all our land

away from us. The poor want none of your land, nor of your houses nor any thing else. They only want a sufficiency of wages to buy them a sufficiency of food and of raiment; and if they have not this in the shape of wages, they must have it in the shape of poor-rates, if poor-rates the Landlords will insist upon calling them. They ought to call them wages-tax, or fund-tax, or army-tax, or Waterloo-tax; for they are not poor-taxes. They are so much money paid to make up the deficiency of wages, which deficiency is caused by the taxes paid to the Government. This is the straight forward view of the matter; and if every farmer in England saw it in this light, how quickly we should be all of a mind, and how soon should we have that Reform without which there can be no diminution of these intolerable burdens. For want of seeing the thing in this light, the Farmers have kept crying aloud against the poor-rates. Some alteration was wanted in the poor-laws. Something was wanted to be done to check the increase of the poor. They never call for any thing to check the increase of taxes. They never call upon the Government not to spend eight hundred millions of money for



the purpose of bringing the Americans under a taxing system as well as themselves, and for that of restoring the Old Bourbons against the will of the French. No: it was the poor laws that were in fault. They wanted altering. Malthus, too, was set to work; and, at any rate, one *salutary* measure was necessary; and the Select Vestry Bill was passed. I am now, therefore, going to give you a specimen of the blessed effects of this Select Vestry Bill. A petition has been presented to the House of Commons *from the Select Vestry* of the parish of *Burwash* in the County of Sussex, and now you shall hear its deplorable story.

"A Petition of the Select Vestry of the parish of Burwash, in the county of Sussex, was presented, and read; setting forth, That the Petitioners most respectfully represent to the House, that the said parish is now in a most distressed state, owing to the ruinous depression in the value of the produce of the soil, which has so impoverished the occupiers that they are now unable to employ the labouring class, who are, in consequence, experiencing great inconvenience, which has caused them to become very dissatisfied and irritable, regardless of advice, disrespectful and insolent to their superiors, riotous and turbulent in their dispositions and behaviour, and appear to be quite ready for extreme acts of des-

peration; premises and property have been set fire to and otherwise destroyed, anonymous letters dropt, threatening the lives of individuals (whom they thought might have influence) if their condition was not amended, frequently most grossly abusive to, and sometimes *assaulting*, the Overseers, if their requests (or in many instances demands) were not complied with, and have tumultuously and *alarmingly* beset the Magistrates on the Bench, and, in defiance of orders and force to prevent it, have violently burst into the Sessions Room, urging their demands, and rescuing their ringleaders who had been taken into custody, and from apprehension of similar occurrences, a number of *special Constables* have been sworn in, and *Watch* kept to guard against, such a *distressing* and *alarmingly* state in which they are placed; the population of Burwash is about 1900, and nearly half are receiving relief to a great extent, and a great number of men, fluctuating from 80 to 120, who, together with their families, amounting to between 3 and 400, are now, and have been for many months, entirely out of employ, and solely supported from the funds of the parish; consequently, the Poors' Rates are enormously high and *oppressive*, being upwards of twenty-two shillings in the pound on the full value of rentals of the land, and, from the increased and rapidly increasing distress and reduced means of the farmers, they are unable to meet these unavoidable demands, notwithstanding nearly all other *just calls for payments* are of necessity neglected; the parish of Burwash, as well as its bounding parishes, is entirely agricultural, without any sort of manufactory, its population only slowly and gradually increasing, yet the Poors' Rates, with other demands on the land, have so advanced as to threaten ultimately to destroy entirely the landlords' interest, as it appears by the following statement:

U

Sums collected for the poor annually.

Year.	£.	s.	d.
1772 . . .	438	0	0
1782 . . .	545	2	10
1792 . . .	636	14	0
1821 . . .	4149	6	6

These facts are represented to show to the House the state and condition, as well as the disposition, of the poor of that place and neighbourhood; the Petitioners again beg to assure the House, that it is with the *utmost deference and respect* they state their well-grounded fears and apprehensions that if some means are not speedily adopted to arrest the ruinous progress now making on the interest of the soil, the worst of evils must shortly ensue, the land will, by necessity, be *thrown out of cultivation*, the poor totally unemployed, and, as they must be without the aid of parochial relief, *as no rates can then be collected, anarchy and confusion must follow*; the Petitioners therefore pray the most serious attention of the House to these matters."

This is a pretty picture of things existing under a Government that is the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world. The closing part is particularly touching; for, here you will see that "*anarchy and confusion are apprehended*;" not from Jacobins and Radicals; but from causes manifestly arising out of a system intended to keep down those Jacobins and Radicals! Why, in the memorable year 1817, we were accused of endeavours to produce "*anarchy and confusion*." This is the old

charge that has been vomited forth against us by knaves in London and sputtered out at us by great slaving ideots from the country for the last thirty years.

Nay, these last-mentioned beastly wretches whooped and hallooed for war and taxes and standing armies and German troops, to prevent "anarchy and confusion."

The Select Vestries themselves were contrived for the express purpose of promoting *order* and regularity in parish proceedings; and here, in a time of profound peace, and after endless glories in victories over Jacobins and Radicals; and after the passing of Six Acts too, we have a Select Vestry full of apprehensions of approaching "anarchy and confusion."

Gentlemen of the Select Vestry of Burwash, you cried aloud for war; you had it. You wanted a triumph over the French Republicans; you had it. You wanted Jubilees and Waterloo rejoicings; you had them. You wanted to shake hands with dear Old Blucher; you did it. You cried "*Orange Boven*," till we Jacobins were disgusted with the sound. This was having it all your own way. But you must needs think that you would have to *pay* for it; and pay for it you must. The labourers must be

maintained, to be sure, either in the shape of wages or of rates ; and if you want relief for yourselves you must get it from the Government.

It never was yet known, in any country upon earth, that the labouring classes treated the other classes with insolence or disrespect, unless there were some cause or other of ill-will existing. I defy all the travellers that have ever been in the United States of America to say that they ever saw the labouring people insolent or rude. The setting fire to premises, the dropping of anonymous letters, the contempt for magistrates, are things extremely painful to contemplate and reflect great dishonour upon the country ; and are doubly painful and disgraceful amongst a people so famed as the English for a docile submission to the laws ; but, when three or four hundred persons in one parish, are destitute of a sufficiency of food and of raiment, the wonder is, not that acts of violence are committed, but that they should ever cease to be committed. It is, in short, a state of things in which it is impossible for order and law to exist.

This Select Vestry of Burwash seem to be quite in the dark yet. They appear to be a very loyal

body of men ; but seem not to understand the true principles of *loyalty*. They say that " the poor-rates, with *other demands* on the land have so advanced as to threaten ultimately to *destroy entirely the Landlords' interest.*" This, with all due submission to the gentlemen of the Select Vestry of Burwash, shows that they have but very crude notions respecting the Landlord's *title* and *interest*. These, therefore, are to give them to understand, that the Landlord's property, or, rather, his *proprietorship*, is by no means an absolute thing ; that it is relative and contingent and conditional ; that all possessions of this sort emanated in the first place from, and are still held subject to, the dispensations of the supreme power of the state. That is to say ; that farm shall be *yours*, but you shall assist to keep the people from starving out of the produce of that farm, and you shall be subject to such "*other demands*" as may be ordered by the State. This is the true sense and meaning of a title-deed ; and if the poor-rates ; if that which is wanted to keep the people of a parish from starving and that which those other demands take away ; if these two together leave nothing for the landlord ; nothing has be a right to

expect. He has no positive, no absolute right; and if the government leave him too little, let him complain of that, but let him not complain that he is compelled to contribute his share towards preventing the people of the parish from starving. Yet this Select Vestry say not a word about the Government taxes, which they seem to point at, indeed, under the obscure and delicate appellation of "*other demands*;" and even this hint, they beg to assure the House that they give "with the utmost deference and respect!"

You will recollect that for many years past; for not less than eighteen years; my answer to all the boastings about national prosperity has been, "Look at the poor-rates; and never tell me of prosperity with increasing poor-rates." Some lying knaves have replied, that this increase of poor-rates has arisen from the *increase of our population*. You have read all the boastings about this increase of population. I have looked well into the subject. The first Return or the second Return must be false; and my sincere belief is, that not a single soul has been added to our population since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But, at any rate, here we have a

parish that we are told has no manufactory, is purely agricultural, and that its population has only slowly increased. Yet, the poor-rates are TEN times as great as they were in the year 1772! Now, it happens likewise that the Government taxes are much about ten times as great as they were in the year 1772; a circumstance of which the Select Vestry gentlemen of Burwash, in the county of Sussex, take no more notice than if it did not in the most distant degree belong to that subject on which they were petitioning the House "with the utmost deference and respect."

Yet, I think that this was a thing to mention to the House. What was so natural as to say, our poor-rates have gone on increasing with the taxes that you have imposed upon us? What so natural as to conclude with an earnest prayer for the removal of those taxes? But this did not suit the Select Vestry of Burwash. They wanted to make out a complaint against the poor; and not a word of reproach do they utter on any body else.

Let me here mention the curious paper given to me in the dining-room at Farnham, by a Gentleman from the parish of Frensham. This Gentleman had, very likely,



read in the Register what I have often repeated there, that I should be perfectly well satisfied if we were as well off as our Great Grandfathers were. Intending, I suppose, to be amongst the gentlemen to welcome me to my native Town of Farnham, he put in his pocket a paper, which had descended to him from his Great Grandfather, and which he was so kind as to give me. This paper is an account of the receipts and disbursements of his Great Grandfather, as Overseer of the poor of the parish of Frensham in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-two. The money collected by him for the year was twenty-three pounds one penny. The money he received from the late Overseers was two pounds ten shillings and fivepence. The money expended on the poor was eighteen pounds eight shillings and threepence; and his balance in hand was seven pounds two shillings and threepence. The money he expended was in the partial relief of four widows, and in the burial of one of them. The parish of Frensham is, as you well know, altogether agricultural, skirted on one side by the Holt Forest, and on the other by the Heath forming the valley beneath Hindhead. The population can

scarcely have increased in any considerable degree, if at all. Frensham is happily situated at a great distance from every thing resembling Manchester, or any other sink of misery and slavery. It can have nothing to puff up its numbers, and all the land near it that was worth cultivating was a royal forest, or a settled inclosure, hundreds of years ago. Yet in this parish, where, in 1682, six years before the glorious Revolution, and twelve years before the adoption of the accursed Dutch system of funding; in that parish where the poor-rates in those happy times, amounted to only eighteen pounds eight shillings and threepence in the year; in that very parish of Frensham they amounted last year to "*fifteen hundred pounds!*" But, and now mark well, how the things tally, the Government taxes in 1682, amounted to little more than *one million*; and last year they amounted, including the expense of collection, to *upwards of sixty millions!*

Will it be said that *prices* were very different then from what they are now? They doubtless were; and very different was the treatment of the unfortunate poor. Almost the whole of the eighteen pounds was expended upon two

of the widows; and what is very remarkable the expenses of the burial of the one widow, amounted to twenty-three shillings and tenpence, and a gentleman in the room at Farnham told me that the expenses of the burial of a pauper at this time in that country, amounts to only twenty-seven shillings. These facts alone speak volumes to the country and particularly to the Landlords; but where is the man amongst them who will bestir himself to lay these facts before the country at large, and to bring them home to the hearts and minds of the people? Complain of poor rates, indeed! What were eighteen pounds a-year to the parish of Frensham? Less, perhaps than the poor rates of any township of equal population in America now; and much less than the taxes now raised on the people of America were the taxes then raised by the King and Parliament of England. It was in those days that the sayings about *English roast beef* came up, or the world never would have heard of them; it was in those days that *English hospitality* was talked of all over the world, and when the selling of small beer from Bishops' Castles and the Houses of Members of Parlia-

ment had never yet been heard of or dreamt of!

To return for a little to the Select Vestry of Burwash in the County of Sussex, you perceive that they harp upon the old string, that the "*land will be thrown out of cultivation.*" These Gentlemen of the Select Vestry mistake the matter greatly; and if they will listen to me a little, I will tell them their fortunes without their crossing my hand. It is very true, that, if things were to go on in the present way for some time longer, Landlords would get no tenants to pay them any rent. Some of them might, thereupon, resolve to let the farms lie unoccupied and running to waste. The chances are that some one would step into an empty house, and make use of the room and of the spontaneous produce of the orchard and so forth. To eject is to take possession; to take possession is to occupy; and to occupy is to be liable to the poor rates. But things would not go to this extent. There is the Government which has to take care of itself; and, long before things came to this pass an Act of Parliament would enable the Overseers in the parishes, destitute of occupiers, to take possession of the unoccupied

land, and to use it for the benefit of the parish.

The Select Vestry of Burwash may, therefore, be assured, that the Government is to be frightened by no threats about throwing the land out of cultivation. It knows its business much too well for that. It understands pursuing the "*stern path of duty*;" and it knows perfectly well that do what it may, and do others what they may, the people must and will have food; that they will not die by thousands on the highway and under the hedges; and with this I take my leave of the Gentlemen of the Select Vestry of the parish of Burwash.

I have now another petition to which to call your attention, and to beg you to read through. Prepare your muscles for laughter; for though the tale is dismal enough, the notions and language and particularly the *loyalty* of it, are superabundantly ridiculous. This petition is from owners and occupiers of land, as well as the former petition; but this comes from the rich county of Norfolk, and, as the petitioners say, from the richest part of that rich county. Yet they, too, as you will perceive, talk about the land being *thrown out of cultivation*:

so that, if the rich land of Norfolk and the poor land of Sussex are to be thrown out of cultivation, it would seem that all corn land is to be thrown out of cultivation. We cannot, like the Russians, tear the carcass to pieces and eat it like dogs; we can eat bread without meat but not meat without bread; so that the pasture land must, of course, follow the arable. And, as it would be impossible to make beer without barley, the hop land can be of no sort of use, and, of course, our Townsmen of Farnham will cut a most deplorable figure. The heaths of our county have long been held in derision by the farmers of Norfolk and of Kent; but, at this rate, we shall beat them after all; for our heath will always be what it always has been. If it has known nothing of "*prosperity*," it will at least know nothing of "*Agricultural distress*;" and we shall have to boast of the barrenness of our soil, while they will have to blush at the fecundity of theirs. I suppose we shall all become heath-croppers; but that may not be the very worst situation in life; for Mr. CURWEN informs us that a Bishop had discovered, that a very nutritious food might be got out of the bark of trees. Not to detain you any

longer, from the interesting document that I have to lay before you, I proceed to insert it, with this additional request, that you will read slowly, and bear in mind that this petition comes from a body of most *loyal* men, who condemn all factious opposition to the Government.

"A Petition of the thereundersigned Owners and Occupiers of lands in the Hundreds of *Tunstead* and *Happing*, in the county of Norfolk, was presented, and read; setting forth, That the Petitioners feel, with the most *acute sensibility*, the deplorable depression of Agricultural Produce, the price whereof, so far from affording a reasonable remuneration to the grower, will not even defray the expenses of proper tillage and cultivation of the soil, and consequently threatens, without speedy relief, to throw a considerable portion of the lands in those Hundreds *out of cultivation*, and the occupiers thereof into a *gaol*; the Petitioners regret, that, in consequence of this depression, they see the Proprietor *deprived of his rent*, the creditor of his right, and the poor husbandman of the proper reward for his labour, and tremble while they behold the landlord *degraded from his natural rank*, the credit of the neighbourhood fatally wounded, the farmer totally ruined, and the honest industrious labourer unemployed, in danger of becoming an easy sacrifice to the demoralization; ruin, and disgrace which idleness never fails to produce, the effects whereof they lament to see so fearfully operating in that and the adjoining county, in acts of desperation and works of depredation; that in contemplating the distresses they are at present suffering, in common with all the Agricultural

Interest throughout the kingdom, the Petitioners beg to represent to the House that they are naturally led to *inquire the causes of them*, and in this pursuit they are proud to acknowledge that they live in a country where, for the last fifty years at least, Agriculture has been studied with assiduity, and practised with an ardour equal to its importance, and are so fortunate as to reside in a county which deservedly ranks as high or higher than any other in the kingdom, for its agricultural skill and improvement, and in those Hundreds, in particular, they can boast a *superior soil*, where *no deficiency of labour is felt*, where *markets are convenient* and numerous, and industry unremitting; and with all these advantages in their favour they are led to ask each other, why can they not raise their produce at as little expense, and afford to sell it at as low a profit, as the *Continental Farmer*; and the Petitioners must confess it appears to them the obvious answer is, that the Foreigner is not subject to the same heavy expenses as the *English Farmer*, he is therefore able to raise and dispose of his commodity at a less price; and in this view of the subject they cannot help feeling that the heavy burdens they are liable to, *by direct and indirect taxation*, to defray the interest of an *enormous national debt* (contracted in *fighting the battles of our Continental neighbours*), and for the *necessary expenses of our Government*, together with the partial imposts of tithes, *poors'-rates*, county-rates, surveyors'-rates, and other parochial levies, are the great, prominent, and principal, if not the only causes of all our grievances, and it is therefore to the reduction or abolition of these the Petitioners anxiously look for permanent relief; that to the causes of distress just enumerated the Petitioners cannot help submitting to the House another, which they



consider to have contributed in no small degree to increase them, they mean the immense *importation of Foreign grain*, which has been suffered of late years to inundate this country, originating, perhaps, in unwise legislative interference by the late Corn Laws, which, by obliging the Foreigner to store his produce till the ports were open, when that took place enabled him to glut the market with his cheap-raised corn, and depress, in a very short space of time, the price of home production much lower than they have reason to believe would otherwise have been the case, and yet they lament to see that *abundance* (contradictory as it may seem) produces *want and low prices*, ruin not only to the grower but to the consumer also, for it is notorious that a great part of our *Peasantry* are *literally starving* in the midst of plenty, which *they fear* argues some defect or inattention in the *Government of the Country*; that the Petitioners submit to the House not only that the reduction of one shilling per bushel of the duty on Malt is not sufficient for their relief, but also whether the whole duty ought not to be taken off, and that reduction followed up by a speedy repeal of the taxes on Salt, Soap, Leather, and Candles, and those duties compensated for by the savings derived from a *more rigid economy* in the public expenditure, to be produced by a *reduction in the Army and Navy*, a *total abolition of all useless sinecures, offices, places, and pensions*, and so assimilating, as near as possible, our expenditure to what it was on the *Peace Establishment* prior to the late *French war*; and the Petitioners further submit, in furtherance of such reduction and economy, the propriety of the House directing all its great energies in discovering some equitable and efficient scheme (to be carried into effect the first favourable opportunity) for the purpose of reducing by

some *grand effort* the present enormous *Debt* of the country, which hangs like a millstone round the neck of the genius of *Britain*, threatening to overwhelm her agriculture, trade, and commerce, in the gulf of insolvency, and the whole country in bankruptcy, *revolution*, and despair; that the Petitioners acknowledge with pleasure the King's late *gracious boon* to the country, and receive the donation with the *gratitude of loyal subjects*; but they should be more gratified to see so good an example followed (in relative proportion to their incomes) by *all the Royal Family*, and the great Officers of State; that the Petitioners deeply regret while they represent to the House, that they behold the disorganization, not to say *disloyalty* and *anarchy*, which the present state of things is rapidly producing in this country; and they cannot but feel a moral certainty, that unless speedy relief is at hand, by an immediate removal of their present grievances, the *golden chain*, which hitherto so *beautifully linked* and united the different orders of society in this country for the good of all (sinking in nice gradations, link under link, from the King upon the throne to the lowest subject, and rendering each the *strength, support, and glory* of the other) in danger of being fatally broken, or so *twisted and knotted* as to render it, if not quite useless, at least to destroy its harmony, grace, and beauty; that the Petitioners are not of the number of those who are first and foremost to obstruct the *wheels of Government*, or impede their course by *mistimed and factious opposition* to the measures of Administration; they therefore trust that the House will feel, that when the necessity of their situation obliges them thus to come forward in this *their hour of extreme distress*, they are entitled to be heard with candour, and their Petitions treated with respect; the Petitioners, therefore,

now humbly implore the House, forthwith to take into their consideration the distressed state of the Agricultural Interest of the country; they petition for the *salvation of the yeomanry* of the country; they petition for the protection of their remaining properties, their families, their fellow-subjects throughout the kingdom; they petition for the *peace and safety of the land*, to revive its Agriculture, by reducing the taxation under which they labour; to support, encourage, and insist upon every principle of economical retrenchment and reduction consistent with the security of the empire, and, before it is *too late*, protect them from the evils, the *anarchy*, the heart-rending horrors of *national bankruptcy, revolution and ruin*; and though no adequate measures for their relief have yet been adopted, they still *wish to feel a confidence in the House* to devise the ways and apply the means to save them from *total annihilation*, and restore the country to *peace, submission, contentment, and repose*."

These Gentlemen, too, dread "*anarchy and confusion*;" not, as I said before, from the workings of us Jacobins and Radicals; but from the workings of that precious system that they have so long supported. And what do they pray for? Rigid economy, reduction of salaries, a total abolition of all useless sinecures, offices, places and pensions, and the reduction of the enormous Debt; and this they pray for, for the salvation of the Yeomanry of the Country, for the peace and safety of the land, and for the sake

of being protected from the evils and horrors of bankruptcy, anarchy and *revolution*! For these very things did we pray in 1817, and the Committees of both Houses declared in their Reports, that we meant *anarchy, revolution*, and a general spoliation of property. How are the tables turned then! And what shame and remorse must these men feel, if long continued injustice have not rendered them dead to every fair and honourable sentiment?

I agree with these gentlemen, that the "*golden chain*" will be broken to pieces; but I by no means participate in their regret at the prospect. A golden chain that demands sixty millions of pounds sterling in a year to keep it in repair, may be very "*beautiful*" in the eyes of these gentlemen; but it is a great deal too costly for my taste. We have here again all the fearful apprehensions of the Select Vestry of Burwash; apprehensions, however, which are with me bright expectations, instead of gloomy forebodings; for a change must come; and it must be for the better.

It is with unfeigned satisfaction that I inform you, in conclusion of this long letter, that SIR THOMAS

LETHBRIDGE who has been a Member of Parliament ever since the year 1806, and who has invariably supported the Pitt system until now, has at last spoken out, in language which CASTLE-REAGH says has an *inflammatory* tendency, just as he said, and just as Sir Thomas said, too, in the year 1817, when we petitioned for the very things which Sir Thomas now wants done, not excepting even *Parliamentary Reform*, to which this Member for the County of Somerset now acknowledges that he is become a convert.

These are surprising changes. These changes are wholly incompatible with the continuation of the existence of the Pitt system. But, there was something even more important than the above acknowledgment of conversion, that came from Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE in the debate of the 4th of June. He said, "If Land-  
" lords were not to have the  
" means of paying the taxes,  
" *they had but one alternative,*  
" and that was to consider *how*  
" *far they were bound* to sustain  
" burdens which were most un-  
" equally, and, therefore, most  
" unjustly imposed upon them.  
" He was aware that this was a  
" tiresome subject, but it was

" better that the House should  
" be tired *in this way*, than that  
" any thing *more disagreeable*  
" *should ensue.*" We can easily  
guess at Sir Thomas's meaning  
here; for the natural result of a  
consideration which shall termi-  
nate in an opinion that men are  
*not bound to sustain burdens*, is too  
plain to need pointing out; is so  
very plain that every one must see  
it, and it would, it must be con-  
fessed, though adopted but by one  
single hundred of one single coun-  
ty, be completely efficient.

The ruin that is spreading it-  
self over the country is strong-  
ly illustrated in the case of a  
Mr. BREEDON of Nottinghamshire,  
who, in the year 1813, purchased  
some land of the Duke of Devon-  
shire at a hundred and three  
pounds an acre, which has now  
been sold at fifty-eight pounds an  
acre. He was eminent for his  
breed of sheep; and his ewes, that  
used to sell for five pounds a-  
head, have now been sold off un-  
der execution, at thirty-four or  
thirty-five shillings a-head. Here  
is a man, with a large family, to-  
tally ruined by the measures of  
the Government; and this, as I  
said in my petition to the parlia-  
ment, is only one instance among  
thousands upon thousands.

It is this class of *Yeomanry* that

suffer the most severely of any at present. What shame must they feel when they look back ! What shame for their folly, what remorse for their injustice towards others ! I read in the *Melancholy Mercury of Bedfordshire*, the following paragraph, well worthy of general attention, and particularly the attention of the yeomanry. " Among the expenses " incurred by the Yeomanry Cavalry for the last year, an Account of which was moved for " by Mr. Hume, those of Bedfordshire deserve notice. It " appears in the return, that there " is for exercise, under the Act, " the sum of 57*l.* 13*s.* But that " there is, besides this, placed to " the account of Lieutenant Colonel *Macqueen*, under the " head of ordinary services, the " sum of 457*l.* To Captain " Farrer, 180*l.* ; and for permanent duty, or *suppression of* " riots, above 600*l.* ; the whole " amounting to 1,296*l.* ! " Now imagine, if you can, riots in Bedfordshire ! and all put down by the loyal *Colonel Macqueen* for the trifling charge of 1,296*l.* ! I fixed my eye upon this man, (who is now a Member of Parliament,) in the Summer of 1819, though I was then in America. I remarked on the presenting of a

sword to him by his Yeomanry. He got a twist down, but, unfortunately, not quite so effectual a one as that which I have given to poor Lawyer Scarlett. This Potter Macqueen is the hopeful son of an old Scotch Physician, who married the Heiress of Ridgmount in Bedfordshire. The son's politics are precisely those of Sir WILLIAM CURTIS, CARTWRIGHT of Northamptonshire, and the whole of that class that hold up the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world. This CARTWRIGHT was the Chairman the other day at the Pitt Club, when the Lord Chancellor remarked, at the conclusion of his speech ; " That the religion " of the country was *safe* ; but he " begged to caution those who " loved the *Constitution*, not to " suffer themselves to be misled " by individuals, who, professing " anxiety to improve the Constitution, had no object in view " but its destruction." Air, "*Steady boys, steady !*" We know what they mean by being steady ; that is, to pursue steadily the object of getting as much out of us as they can ; and to stick to THE THING, as long as it can, by any means, be made to hang together.

However, hang together it will



not. Peel's Bill has decreed that. The conversion of Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE is merely a specimen of what we have to expect, and of what really exists, too, though few have yet openly made the declaration. I have before explained to you the motives which actuate the Boroughmen; I have descanted on their power; but that power would be nothing if the Landlords who are not Boroughmen would come forward in the cause of Reform *with the Yeomanry at their back*. I do not mean with swords and pistols and carabines, but *without* any of these. Let Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE get the signatures of the *whole* of the farmers of his county to a remonstrance made in his own manly language uttered in the House. Let us see this in only that one county, and Sir THOMAS will no more have to complain of the *indifference* of Castlereagh and company.

Nor are we to reject Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE, and, in the language of the Morning Chronicle, reproach him with his support of the Pitt system. The Whigs themselves supported that system when they came into power. They coalesced with the Grenvilles and Wellesleys; they voted the payment of the debts of Pitt; they

added to the number of German troops in the country; they added enormously to the pension list; and they endeavoured to introduce the exciseman into private houses; yes, to ram his stick into the beer which farmers brewed for their harvest men; and as for Reform, who have been more bitter enemies of Reform than the whole of that faction; and we now see, cheek by jowl, at the "purity of election" dinner at Westminster, the son of the Duke of Buckingham, who is member for the Borough of Aylesbury, and the son of the placeman Hobhouse, who is member for the Borough of Westminster; here we see them cheek by jowl, toasting Parliamentary Reform, while the placeman Hobhouse is toasting Canning in another part of the City of Westminster, and while the Duke of Buckingham is sending forth his *Bill of Fare* for the benefit of Farmers' wives.

Let us hear, then, none of these accusations against Sir Thomas

Lethbridge; who, at any rate, is not actually in the act, like so many others, of holding with the hare and running with the hounds. He has not been professing certain principles, and doing at the same time every thing in his power utterly to destroy every one able and willing to give effect to those principles, while he himself was *doing nothing*. Sir Thomas Lethbridge has acted the part of a person greatly in error; but, if we are to judge from what he now says in Parliament, he is a man of sincerity and integrity.

I have addressed to you a very long letter. It contains several things of interest to the country; and that it may tend to produce effects beneficial to that country, I am sure there is no man more anxious than yourself. I am

Your Friend and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

## DINNER,

*To celebrate the Anniversary of  
Peel's Bill.*

ANNIVERSARIES are held on several accounts; but on no account was one ever held more worthily than in honour of this famous Bill, which has produced already such wonderful effects, and which has for us such prodigious benefits in store. For my own part, I look upon the passing of this Bill as the greatest event that England ever yet saw; and I have been, not reluctantly, I confess, but with great cheerfulness and pleasure, induced, however incompetent to the task, to take the Chair upon this occasion. . . . It is meant simply to celebrate the passing of this Bill. What speeches will be made, or what other exhibitions will take place, may depend, perhaps, upon casual circumstances. The Dinner is to be held at the Horns Tavern,

Kennington, on the second of July. Further particulars, as to the mode of obtaining the tickets, and the like, will be stated in the next Register. The room will actually dine six hundred persons; and there are other rooms besides. It is meant, in order to do as much honour to the thing as possible, and to cause, at the same time, an agreeable

association of ideas, to confine the number of tickets to six hundred and fifty-eight, that being precisely the number of seats in that matchless assembly which first gave its unanimous sanction to this immortal Bill. I shall say no more upon the subject at present, and have said this, merely in the way of notice to our friends at a distance from London.